

we placed limits on the ability of Government to casually dip into the pockets of an already overtaxed citizenry. The way to do that is with a super majority requirement.

That is, if the citizens and taxpayers of America cannot be participants in that conversation where we are being asked to extend one more Government benefit, then make the structure of Government so that it is harder to raise taxes. Put them there by virtue of a structural change which would say "We cannot raise taxes upon a simple majority. We must do it upon a super majority."

On this floor within the next 10 days we will have an opportunity to vote for a requirement that says "No future tax increase can be enacted without a 60 percent majority." I urge the people of America to get on their fax machines and their phones and to use their letters and any other communication device they have, buttonhole their Member of this Congress in the next 10 days, and tell them that they are not undertaxed but they are overtaxed; that we need a real reform, and that what we do not want is a balanced budget amendment which will lead to a balancing of the budget by an increase in taxes, but that what we need essentially in America is a balanced budget amendment which will lead to a balanced budget balanced on the basis of spending reductions.

This is a critical vote. It will occur within the next 10 days. I urge the American people, you are participants in this revolution.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. I thank the gentleman for his comments. Again, from hearing him talk, I was once again reminded about the dire consequences that this Member who spoke earlier and others have been speaking about, talking about what would happen if we passed a balanced budget amendment, what would happen if we actually lived by the words of the Constitution.

I have to ask you, in your reading of the balanced budget amendment as it is, does it seem to be ideologically driven by conservatism or by liberals, or is it value-neutral and policy-neutral as far as just what the goal is, and that is, to spend as much money—only as much money as you take in?

I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, the language of the draft which I hope will appear before us states a simple principle, and that is, first, we must balance the Federal budget and, second, future tax increases will require a super majority. It is built around the premise that I think Paul Harvey best elocutes, and that is simply that self-government without self-discipline won't work.

The sad truth is that what we are doing now is we are voting ourselves benefits, but passing the bill on to our children, our grandchildren, and our

great grandchildren. However, more than that, because we are creating that debt, we are also creating an interest burden, which means we have fewer and fewer dollars to pay for today's services because we are paying the interest on the debt we are creating, because we simply refuse the discipline to say no to extra spending.

The super majority or three-fifths requirement would institutionalize that discipline which is so critically needed, so we do not continue the policies of tax and spend and tax and spend and tax and spend, to the point where we are today creating an underground economy where people no longer are willing to pay the onerous tax burden we are imposing on them because they simply understand they are not getting their dollar's worth.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for his comments, and would now like to yield to the other member of the Arizona delegation.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank the gentleman from Florida. I would like to note what a personal thrill and high honor it is to stand alongside my friend and colleague from Arizona. We live in neighboring districts, and our people share similar thoughts and values.

Mr. Speaker, one of the things we have to remember was echoed in a previous remark by my good friend, the gentleman from Maine. It is that we are really not actively involved here in reinventing Government as much as we are involved in remembering what made this Government great, and what made it the last, best hope of mankind.

Though we may use the rhetoric of revolution, and indeed, after 40 years of maintaining an old order, it may seem revolutionary, Mr. Speaker, what we advocate is really not radical. Instead, it is reasonable.

In the remarks we have heard from the other side throughout the 104th Congress, there seems to be an important ingredient missing. It is this realization. The money talked about and the funds appropriated and the horror stories of alleged losses and decreases in funding that Members on the other side of the aisle would point to fails to understand this basic point. It is not the Federal Government's money. It is money that rightfully belongs in the wallets and the purses of the citizens of the United States.

□ 1650

They know best how to spend their hard-earned money. They know best how to care for their families. One size does not fit all.

Mr. Speaker, the answer is not found in government, but in ourselves.

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. I thank the gentleman from Arizona.

I must echo what he says, that the answers don't lie in Washington, and more importantly they don't lie on one side of the aisle.

This is a battle that is going to be taken up on both sides of the aisle.

I know on December 7, 1941, when Franklin Roosevelt stood before the House and Senate, as they declared war on Japan, it was a bipartisan effort. On that day, nobody cared whether you were a conservative or a liberal, or whether you were a Republican or a Democrat. They only cared that you were Americans. I can say this, that today, and as we approach this vote, it does not matter whether we are conservatives or liberals or Democrats or Republicans. The only thing that matters is that we begin treating our checkbook the way middle-class Americans treat their checkbook, and that we only pay what we have.

It is a very simple request that the American people have given us. I see the gentlewoman from Ohio, and I know that she, too, is concerned about this on the other side of the aisle. We have to remember that one party does not have all the answers. But we have got to start somewhere. I believe this three-fifths supermajority to raise taxes is a great way to start, because this year, more than any other year before us, we can make a difference.

The 104th Congress can bring about true reforms if both sides of the aisle will work together and if conservatives all across America will step forward and say, "Enough is enough."

I would like to end my remarks by quoting someone who said this in 1966, and the quote is inspirational and talks about American individualism, and what can happen when Americans get off their couches and dare to make a difference.

The quote goes like this:

It is a revolutionary world we live in. It is young people who must take the lead. We've had thrust upon us a greater burden of responsibility than any other generation that has ever lived.

"There is," said an Italian philosopher, "nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things."

There is the belief there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous array of the world's ills, against misery and ignorance, injustice and violence. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single man or woman.

It is from numberless diverse acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope, and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring those ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

That is what has happened in 1994 and 1995. Centers of energy from the people across this country have stood up and individuals have dared to get off the couch and make a difference.

I would like to commend the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy for making that statement in 1966, and I think it is a fitting statement that we as Republicans and Democrats can take forward

as we dare to make a difference and reform this Congress that has needed reforming for so long.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GOODLATTE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLKMER] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

[Mr. VOLKMER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY RELATIVE TO BAILOUT OF MEXICO

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I listened with great interest to my colleagues on the importance of keeping our national accounts in order. I have come to this well over the last decade of my service in the Congress echoing those very same concerns, especially as it relates to our people's ability to earn decent incomes in America and to benefit their families through their hard work as well as through gain-sharing in the workplace, where people in our country work very hard, they should gain from the productivity that they have been a part of increasing, and, therefore, I am a great supporter of all types of programs, for employee stock ownership, for worker gain-sharing so that people in our country can become self-sufficient. For too long Washington has turned a cold ear to so much of what has been happening across our country in the streets and blocks of our neighborhoods.

This evening I come to the floor to talk about the connection between people's jobs and their incomes and our foreign trade policy, because one of the biggest budget-busting items that is likely to come before us next week has to do with the bailout of Mexico that will be put on the backs of our taxpayers, and of all things they want to put it off-budget, which means that as we consider this vote next week, and as I understand it, no hearings are going to be held in the House of Representatives on this issue. This bill is going to be moved only through the Committee on Rules at the will of the Speaker and will be brought here to the floor without any of the hearings that are normal procedure for a measure of this magnitude which already has cost our people over \$18 billion—that's with a B—in lines of credit extended to Mexico, largely to hold up, to prop up the speculators on Wall Street who wanted to make big money in Mexico but now are not willing to eat their own losses, and we are told a bill is going to come here next week ringing in somewhere over 40 billion additional dollars, pledging the full faith and credit of the taxpayers of this country. Yet we cannot even have hearings in the sub-

committees and full committees of jurisdiction in this Congress.

What is wrong? What are people afraid of? How can we even think about having a debate on a balanced budget amendment when we can exempt major expenditures such as the bailout of the Mexican peso and the Wall Street speculators who now want to reach into the pocketbooks of our people?

I want to put on the RECORD tonight that for 1994, last year, the latest bad news unfortunately has come in on our Nation's continuing trade hemorrhage with the world. This means we are still sucking in billions of dollars of imports more than we are exporting goods abroad. In fact, the 1994 ledger is dripping with even more red ink and more good jobs lost in our country.

In fact, just in the month of November, America had a trade deficit of 10.5 billion additional dollars—that means more imports coming in here than our exports going out—and just in that month alone, over 200,000 more jobs lost in America.

For those who listened to my remarks yesterday, yesterday morning, 7:30 in the morning, in Medina, NY, Fisher-Price/Mattel Co. gave the pink slip to 700 more workers in our country who were told, "It's time to go home. Your jobs are moving to Mexico."

□ 1700

Fisher-Price/Mattel does not make one Barbie doll in the United States. Yet they have millions and millions and millions of dollars of sales in our marketplace, and their product is not cheap, \$29 to \$200 for one of those little dolls. Each little girl in American owns between 8 and 12 of those today. They basically have shut down their production in this country.

The trade deficit is related to your job, my friends, because if you do not have production located in your community and you have essentially outsourced the real productive wealth of your community, you will have lower-wage jobs, you will have jobs without benefits, you will have part-time work, you will be downsized, you will be outsourced. Until you understand the connection between international trade, your job and your pocketbook, 1994 will be known as the year in which the United States suffered the worst trade deficit in history. And for every billion dollars of trade deficit we lose an additional 20,000 jobs in this country. So that means for 1994 over 3 million more good jobs slowly disappeared.

Probably, unless you live in these communities, you do not even know it happened. It is like death by pin pricks as companies shut their doors, like Mattel did yesterday in New York, and the list goes on and on and on.

Nineteen ninety-four will be remembered as the year that NAFTA was implemented, and that trade agreement really kicked in and continued to put the tourniquet around the workers of the United States. It was the year GATT was signed and we will continue to lose more jobs. And the year that we

ran up over \$155 billion more in trade deficits, more imports coming in here than exports going out.

It is hard to find anything made in America. In fact today I had a rather humorous experience if you want to think about it. People here in Washington are running around with little pins on that say Contract With America. But look at the button, it was made in Taiwan. I just shook my head. We do not even make buttons in this country anymore.

Over 3 million Americans could have been more productive in our country last year if the trade deficit had not been so bad. And, you know, the amazing thing about it, prices are not going down in our country; profits are going up, prices are going up. The only thing that is coming down is workers' wages and their buying power.

Something pretty fundamental is happening to the economic wealth, productive wealth of this country, and Washington better understand it, because it is at the nub of the unrest across our country.

The latest trade data that has come in has special significance as Congress considers a bailout of the Mexican peso. And it is really a bailout of the Wall Street speculators because our former trade advantage with Mexico, which is what they said we had to pass NAFTA for, because America would continue to make money off of that deal, as that trade deficit got worse last year, guess which country we began moving into the red side of the ledger with? Our third largest trading partner, Mexico.

In the month of October, for the first time in a generation, America accumulated a negative trade debt with Mexico. And in November the red ink quadrupled to over \$370 million in the red, just in November.

America's trade advantage, my friends, with Mexico, has now disappeared. The advantage has disappeared in less than a year, and now Mexico has its hand out to us to prop up that country's debts that are owed to our Wall Street investors.

When the peso fell 40 percent in December in value, the United States is going to see a continued slide into red ink with Mexico as their exports and the prices of those exports become more attractive in our market and our goods down there become too expensive for them to purchase. Mark my words, the slide is sickening every single month.

Let me now tell you more about the biggest budget buster that this Congress is going to be asked to vote on next week, with no hearings in the committees of this Congress, which essentially means you as a people cannot know. And it is going to hit our taxpayers very, very hard, in the wallet, with the jobs that they will lose to a much cheaper wage environment. You are going to pay in higher interest rates; you are already paying in higher

interest rates because the market has discounted those losses. And you are going to pay in continuing obligations in increasing long-term debt that you will have to pay, because in effect what they are asking is for our people to become Mexico's insurance company, for the North American Free-Trade Agreement, NAFTA, sure is not free. We have lost a company a day to that nation since the agreement went into effect.

Most Americans did not realize that, when NAFTA passed, at its heart was an investment guarantee to the Wall Street speculators, the multinational corporations, and the megabanks that in fact you as taxpayers now have to back up.

If the gamblers went belly up in Mexico, the United States essentially had pledged your full faith and credit, and now the bills are coming due. Fifty-eight billion dollars for beginners.

In fact U.S. taxpayers are now going to pay dearly and not just in more lost jobs. That is bad enough. But without a vote of Congress, last week our U.S. Treasury and Federal Reserve opened our lines of credit to Mexico to the tune of \$18 billion, your tax dollars, your deposits in the institutions of this country already sent to prop up the paper investments that the gamblers on Wall Street love to play with. And as far as the Government of Mexico is concerned, what this really amounts to is a new backdoor multibillion-dollar version of foreign aid, but they do not want to call it that, they do not really want you to see it as that, so they are using all kinds of fancy names, figuring most people have not gone to business school, most people do not have a degree in finance. So the \$18 billion they extended they did not call what it really is, they called it a line of credit, they called it a swap.

Now they are coming up here next week with a bill they are going to call a guarantee, and backing up the guarantee will be fees. There will be a commitment fee, a basic fee, a supplemental fee. There are so many different fees, but essentially all it is putting debt on top of more debt on top of more debt on top of more debt with higher interest rates, and more debt with higher interest rates that you back up with your tax dollars.

No matter what you call it, you essentially are Mexico's insurance company. But ask yourself what is the collateral? What are your chances of getting your money back?

Last week the Clinton administration and the Federal Reserve started bailing out Mexico with that \$18 billion of our currency through the U.S. Treasury, our Federal Reserve. It took no vote of Congress to do that, they do not have to come here for 6 months under the current law. Now the administration is asking us to guarantee this additional \$40 billion in loans and there will be no hearings here in the Congress. Believe me, it is a bottomless pit.

The troubling fact about these speculators from Wall Street is they are the very same people who gave us junk bonds back in the 1980's, the very same people who put all of these leveraged buyouts together, who threw white collar workers, blue collar workers, pink collar workers out of work across America because these very same people were so greedy that they cashed out corporations, they bought companies, they dried up their pension funds, they diversified those holdings, they essentially bled out the wealth of this country, they put it in different nations around the world where there is no cheap labor and no democracy. And notice now they are sending those goods back here, and now they are trying to do the same thing as a result of this Mexican deal.

The troubling fact about being this kind of a banker, and I even hate to call it a banker, it is really a speculator from Wall Street, is that they can create money; I wish each of us could, even when there is no collateral to back it up. They have got powerful friends. Let me tell you, my friends, they have powerful friends in the Clinton administration, and they have very powerful friends inside this institution. They like to talk about free enterprise, and being beholden to the rules of the private sector.

□ 1710

But basically they are now coming and running to the Government because they are about to lose a big chunk of money. So when they have gotten in trouble, they have not followed the rules of the marketplace which is when you take a risk to that extent and you lose, you are big enough to eat the losses yourself and not come running to the taxpayers of our country.

The Clinton administration is doing this along with the top leadership of this institution and taking this unprecedented action and doing it very quickly so that you do not really understand it, so you cannot complain and really have input through your elected Representatives here because the value of Mexico's currency has fallen by so much.

Basically Mexico cannot pay its bills. It never has, and with the peso meltdown, keep this in mind, if you think about what is the collateral, its workers' wages have also been cut by 40 percent; the value of its people's savings accounts have been cut by 40 percent. Do you think they will be able to pay back what they owe us on top of all of the old debt that they still owe us?

And I see our colleague from Vermont has joined us, the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. SANDERS], and we are so happy to have him here this afternoon without question, and I know he has traveled the world, as I have; the pain of our people who have lost their jobs, the pain of our families who are worried about affording their mortgages and affording sending their children on to college, when they need

help, they do not have the Secretary of the Treasury running around the corridors up here. They do not have the Speaker of the House running around the corridors for them. They do not have the Chairman of the Federal Reserve running around the corridors up here. They do not even return phone calls.

But for this particular deal where their friends, and I underline friends, on Wall Street stand to lose \$40 billion and should eat their own losses, believe me, they have worn out the carpets of reception up here. We may have to have a little congressional expenditure to replace the mats that have been worn out over the last 2 weeks as these meetings have occurred behind closed doors.

Why should the Mexican people and the people of our country have to pay for the mistakes made by the Wall Street kingfishers and their friends around the world? Why?

I yield to the gentleman, and I am so happy to see him here tonight.

Mr. SANDERS. I want to thank the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] for her leadership role in this whole issue.

You know, when we talk about the beltway mentality, and we talk about the degree to which Washington, DC, and the U.S. Congress are separated from the pain and the anguish of middle income America, I think you could not give a clearer example of that separation than this \$40 billion bailout for Mexico.

Now, two things are happening at exactly the same time. The President and congressional leaders are talking about a \$40 billion bailout. For a start, what we are hearing is that because we have a terrible deficit situation, it may be necessary to destroy our Social Security system upon which tens of millions of senior citizens exist. There is no question but that the Republican leadership has in mind massive cuts in Medicare, in Medicaid, massive cuts in nutrition programs for hungry children.

So on one hand, what we hear every single day on the floor of this House is we have a terrible deficit situation; therefore, we are going to have to cut back on the basic needs, the substance, the substantive needs of some of the most desperate people in this country, because of the deficit. Then in the same breath what we hear is, well, we have got to protect Wall Street who are making investments in Mexico, and, therefore, we are going to have to cosign a \$40 billion loan guarantee. That is No. 1.

And the second line of rhetoric that we hear is that we are entering into an era of so-called personal responsibility. What we are saying to hungry children in America, we have 5 million kids who are hungry, we are saying, well, you know what, in the new United States of America do not expect the Federal Government to provide you with basic

nutrition, and we say to the elderly people who have paid into Social Security and Medicare for their whole lives, do not expect the Federal Government to stand with you in your time of need. Personal responsibility. You have got to do it on your own. Right? No free lunch.

But at exactly this same moment, we have investors who are interested in buying bonds from Mexico, bonds by the way which are paying 19- or 20-percent returns.

Ms. KAPTUR. One of the interesting points here is how people get hold of these bonds. You know, part of what Mexico owes is money that is owed on the old Brady bonds. For those of you who are TV junkies, maybe you know this, back in the 1980's, the early 1980's, there were all kinds of debt Mexico could not pay back. Then part of it was turned into these Brady bonds. The yield on Brady bonds was 40 percent.

Can you imagine, just think if you owned those bonds. So part of these are being rolled over as a part of this new debt that Mexico has to pay to its creditors.

Now, with this new group they are paying 20 percent at the moment, but, of course, it could go up. Would we not love for the depositors in our communities to be able to earn a 40-percent interest rate at their bank?

Mr. SANDERS. But what I get a kick out of is in this era of personal responsibility it is not enough that you may very well, and probably likely, will earn a 20-percent rate of return on your investment, but we are saying to these very brave investors, "Well, if you do not make that 20 percent, if the Mexican economy does not improve, if by some chance they are not able to pay you back, do not worry about it, Uncle Sam and the taxpayers are here to bail you out."

The irony, and I know you and I have discussed this earlier, the irony that some of the people that we are protecting are exactly the same people who have thrown American workers out on the street, taken their jobs to Mexico, now they are going back to these unemployed workers and saying, "We want you to provide guarantees to the companies that are investing in Mexico today."

To say that is absurd would be, I think, a massive understatement.

Ms. KAPTUR. If I might just reclaim a moment, last week I sent a letter along with several Members of Congress to our Secretary of the Treasury asking 14 very specific questions, since we are not going to have hearings here in Congress on this major bailout.

I will not read all 14 questions, but just the first two, asking him to, please, expeditiously reply to these questions. No. 1, in view of the fact that U.S. banks are earning historic profits, why is this U.S. Government intervention in the form of a currency swap and lines of credit, this was the \$18 billion from last week, necessary?

When the private sector gambles and loses, should not those losses be borne by the private sector? That is question one.

Question two is: To what specific banking and corporate interest does Mexico owe the \$26 billion in outstanding obligations that come due this year, \$10 billion due in this first quarter of the year, and \$16 billion of which is allegedly owed to United States interests, the rest being owed to Japanese interests and German interests? Which means our people's tax dollars would have to pay for foreign creditors to Mexico. And how much in additional obligations come due in 1996 and 1997?

But the bottom line is specifically, not in general, to whom is it owed? Which Wall Street investment houses, which speculative investors that are out there in our country and elsewhere? If our people are going to pay this off, all we are asking is let us know who we owe the bills to.

Mr. SANDERS. You are absolutely right. And I think the point that has to be made over and over again is that at a time when America, for working people, is becoming a poorer and poorer country, at a time when the gap between the rich and the poor is growing wider, when so many middle-income people need help, what an absurdity, what an outrage that the U.S. Government today, the President and leaders of Congress are proposing not to stand with middle income people, not to stand with the poor or the working people, but they are going to provide \$40 billion of loan guarantees to very, very profitable Wall Street investors.

And if that does not tell you who controls the U.S. Congress, then I think you may never know it.

I would hope very much that we can turn this process about.

I think, I say to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR], it is going to come to the floor next week?

Ms. KAPTUR. That is what we are told, Friday, when everybody is worn out and wants to get home to meet with their constituents over the weekend. So they are going to bring the balanced budget amendments up early in the week, and all the discussion on that, so all the people will be all vented out by the end of the week. There will have been no hearings in the House. They will just slip it in here from the Committee on Rules.

□ 1720

Mr. SANDERS. I will just say to the American taxpayers that if you think that the best use of your money now is to guarantee loans to Mexico, money that is going to be made by large investment houses and big banks, why, then, you should call the President of the United States up, you should call your Member of Congress and, say, "That is exactly how I want to see my tax dollars being spent. Go for it. We think it is a great idea."

But if you are concerned about a \$200 billion deficit, if you are concerned

that there are people here in Congress who say that because of the deficit we have got to cut back on Medicare, on Medicaid, on nutrition programs for hungry kids, and you think that a \$40 billion loan guarantee for Mexico is not how you want to see your tax dollars being spent, then I think also you should get on the phone, you should call up Speaker GINGRICH, you should call up my office, Ms. KAPTUR's office and the office of your Representative in Congress, your United States Senator.

Mr. Speaker, we can defeat this thing if millions of Americans stand up and say, "No, let's get our priorities straight. We have other things to do with our tax dollars other than to bail out Mexico and protect investments from large banks and investment houses."

So let us get our priorities straight, let us flood the U.S. Congress with calls, with letters, and say to the Members of this institution, "No bailout for Mexico. Protect American taxpayers."

Ms. KAPTUR. And not surprisingly, because this has happened before, but Mexico has many wealthy families, and they have billions of dollars' worth of deposits. Now, you might ask yourselves, where is that money? If you look back at 1991, there were two billionaires in Mexico, according to Fortune Magazine. Now there are over 2 dozen.

Where do they have their money? Do you know what happened back in the early 1980's when Mexico got into trouble before when it owed several billion dollars? There was between \$40 and \$60 billion dollars worth of money from citizens in Mexico deposited in United States banks, the very same banks that Mexico owed money to. So being very simple-minded, I said just let them take their money back home.

What happened in this particular situation—and it was carefully orchestrated—the smart money left Mexico before the peso meltdown. If you look at the trade figures for the last year, you will see one of the top three exports to Mexico from the United States after NAFTA has been in two or three interesting areas: art, antiques, and collectibles.

Now, who would buy art, antiques, and collectibles to hedge against a possible devaluation? So they took their money out of the country, brought into the country goods that will sell anywhere in the world. So part of our job should be to drive it back in the country rather than put the money out.

Mr. SANDERS. The gentlewoman is not suggesting that the patriotic billionaires in Mexico are not going to themselves reinvest in their own country? She is not suggesting that they might take their own money out of their own country and put that money into American banks so that the working people of the United States who are losing jobs because our jobs are being

taken to Mexico should bail out these investors and these big banks? The gentlewoman is not suggesting that, is she?

Ms. KAPTUR. This is why we asked the Secretary of Treasury which specific interests, which banks, which investment houses, which corporate interests are Mexico's creditors at this point. We would like to see who owns those firms. We would like to see who the depositors are, we like to understand who we are giving our money to, because it is likely, based on past history, that Mexico will default again and the taxpayers of the United States, the new insurance company to Mexico, will help to bail them out. We just would like to know who we are bailing out. Do you not think that the American people have the right to know?

Mr. SANDERS. I think that they might, given the fact that they are putting \$40 billion on the line. I think what people throughout this country should appreciate is that very often when the President, any President, when the leaders of Congress want to get something done that benefits the wealthiest 1 or 2 percent and puts it to the average American, what they do is move very, very quickly, because their feeling is that the less information the average American has about the situation, the better they are able to pull off the swindle. I think that is exactly what we are seeing right now.

It is astounding to me that when some of us say, "Let us do something about 5 million children in America who are hungry, provide help to them," there is never a sense of urgency. But when we talk about changing our trade policies so that we do not encourage American corporations to take our jobs to China or to Mexico or to poor Third World countries, there is never a sense of urgency. But suddenly, boy, are things flying around here—\$40 billion, even in Washington, DC, is a lot of money.

Loan guarantees of \$40 billion can rebuild communities from one end of America to the other, could put millions of American people back to work at decent wages.

Suddenly, however, for some reason, that discussion never takes place here. But now, because Wall Street and the investment houses want to make sure they are not going to lose any money on their Mexican investments, wham, like a bullet, is that process flying through here.

Ms. KAPTUR. What is really sad here is, if you look at the people who get appointed to our U.S. Treasury and to the Federal Reserve, not that they are not intelligent and hardworking Americans, but their mindset comes from, especially this group over the last several years, from the speculative Wall Street sector, which means that when they have been used to creating all this debt around the world, they are pretty well-heeled themselves, when they get appointed to a top Government position, they forget they are not just deal-

ing with their own customers' funds anymore, they are dealing with taxpayers' public money. There is a difference.

I think one of the problems we have is that when you have this revolving door between Wall Street and some of the institutions of the people of the United States, sometimes I think people forget where they are and they start gambling with our peoples' money rather than the private investors' and speculators' and gamblers' money. There is a big difference.

Let me say to the gentleman from Vermont that I see the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI] has joined us here. I am sure that both of these gentlemen face the same situation in their own districts. But I cannot get loans for my congressional district from the U.S. Treasury in order to clean up the toxic waterways in my community. They told us, "Well, wait 5 years, wait 10 years, wait 15 years." I said, "Wait a minute, I only get elected for 2 years. I cannot wait for 15. I came here to make it better." I cannot get money to build a new tower out at our airport field so that the airplanes do not crash into one another while landing because we have such an old tower that it is on the wrong side of the runway. Well, we cannot get that built. I cannot get a loan from the Treasury backed up by the taxpayers of the United States to do that. I cannot get money for an enterprise community in the center of our city because there was not enough to go around to every major city in Ohio. I could not get the attention of the Federal Reserve or the U.S. Treasury.

I cannot get more money out of this Government to add to the new police class being hired in my district, in my major city and many of the rural communities in my State that are trying to hire policemen, police officers, because of the drug problem. Do you know the transit route, the chief transit route to Toledo, OH, in terms of the drug trade, is direct from Mexico, comes up direct to our community. And I cannot get a loan from our Government to help us deal with the crime situation in our community.

So it gets pretty discouraging when you see the enthusiasm of these former Wall Street speculators down here helping their friends, but I cannot deliver as fast as I want to for the people of my home district, as hard as we try.

I want to acknowledge that we have been joined by Congressman BILL LIPINSKI, a most esteemed Member from the great city of Chicago, which I like to call the capital of the Midwest. I know how hard he has tried to help not only his own city but this entire Nation through his work here and his years of service. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LIPINSKI. I thank the gentlewoman for those very kind words and for the time that she is yielding to me in this special order.

It is always a pleasure also to be associated with the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. SANDERS] because certainly no one fights harder for the American working man than he does.

Mr. Speaker, it appears that the North American Free-Trade Agreement is anything but free. Let us look at the facts. Under NAFTA, thousands of Americans have been put out of work. Under NAFTA, the Sara Lee Corp. intends to cut 8,000 jobs during the next several months and move their operations to Mexico.

□ 1730

Under NAFTA, Honda, BMW, Volkswagen, Toyota, and Samsung all announced plans to build new or expanded production facilities in Mexico, not here in the United States of America. Under NAFTA, United States automobile makers exported approximately 22,000 vehicles to Mexico. The United States however, imported 221,000 from Mexico, a huge imbalance in Mexico's favor. I ask, "Can you imagine the jobs that would have been created here amongst the United States Auto Workers if the 221,000 vehicles that were manufactured in Mexico had been manufactured here in the United States?"

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, let me reclaim my time for a second.

I had somebody divide it out for me. What it works out to is that every 28 cars that come up from Mexico to the United States, we send down 2 cars, and in trucks it is even worse. For every 33 trucks that are built by these companies sent into our market, we send down there about a third of a truck. It is absolutely upside-down.

Mr. LIPINSKI. Certainly, and to me the No. 1 issue in last November's election was the fear, the concern, the insecurity that the American middle class has on their shrinking standard of living, not only for themselves, but for their family, for their youngsters, and here with NAFTA, with GATT, and now this \$40 billion bailout, we are not only shipping out middle-class jobs, we are also now putting an additional burden on the middle class to subsidize another country.

To return to my prepared remarks, under NAFTA United States imports from Mexico have been increasing at a rate faster than United States exports to Mexico. This distinction is important because in order to create jobs, U.S. exports must be expanding faster than imports. This is not happening.

Under NAFTA the peso's value has dropped fantastically. This represents a dramatic wage cut for Mexican workers. Consequently United States exports to Mexico will slow while Mexico's exports to the United States will rise, wiping out what little trade advantage we had. Under NAFTA, Mexico is experiencing a severe financial crisis, and the American taxpayer is being asked to foot the bill. I say, "Enough is enough."

The Clinton administration wants to provide \$40 billion in loan guarantees to

help Mexico. But as reported in yesterday's *Washington Post*, this multibillion-dollar bailout will only help United States speculators, those who have invested money in Mexican stocks and bonds and not contributed to Mexico's long-term economic stability. Any way you look at it, taxpayers are being forced to prop up the peso and assume the financial risk of the investors.

Mr. Speaker, it is not their risk to take. We should be offering support for our citizens, but instead our Government chooses to help every other group except the American working man and woman.

Last week I joined my colleagues, two of which are here tonight, in introducing legislation to pull the United States out of NAFTA. Given the current circumstances, such action is indeed timely and long overdue. During the debate on NAFTA, supporters promised jobs and economic growth. I and others, however, warned that NAFTA would only hurt our trade position and cause an increase in the loss of American jobs. After a year of NAFTA, I think today's reality speaks for itself.

Mr. Speaker, repealing NAFTA is essential if we are to restore justice to the working people of America. This issue, to me, is an enormously important issue and goes right to the heart of the stability of this Nation, not only the middle class, but everyone in this Nation. We have to produce jobs in this country for all our citizens. We have to come up with what is a dirty word around here quite often, but a national industrial policy. We have to have Government, management, labor, the universities, working together to develop an economic strategy to put our people to work. If we do not, there is going to come a day when they are not going to be able to purchase these products from Mexico, from Japan, from Germany. This economy is going to go down the drain, and numerous other economies are going to go down the drain.

I am really very thankful for the opportunity to participate in this special order tonight, and both of you have my totally complete support in this effort to try to rebuild the American middle class and to try to create jobs in this Nation.

Ms. KAPTUR. I thank the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI] for his heartfelt and enlightened statement, and I know that probably in Chicago, as is true in Toledo and Vermont, the fastest growing category of jobs are temporary jobs, part-time jobs, with no benefits. We have some restaurant work jobs being created. We have some health care jobs being created. In our factories what has happened is some people, because of the uptake in the auto industry, and I come from automotive America, we have been able to bring some people back into the plants. But we have not seen the kind of massive hiring that we would have ex-

pected with the kind of profits that are being made because people, extra people, are not being hired. What we are seeing is workers working 6 days a week. They have been doing this now for over 2 years, and they are making good money, but they are exhausted because they had a lot of overtime. But the benefits are not shared, and imagine if you can put 1,000 more people, 2,000 more people, to work in our plants, and we continue to see in our country declining buying power because essentially what these money traders are doing is they do not understand the difference between money and wealth and the fact that there is a difference between piling debt up and creating real investment that produces things, be it agricultural or industrial, that creates real wealth in our communities.

There is a book, I think, that has been written, "Barbarians at the Gate," that talks about how these folks on Wall Street behave, and they think that money, and paper, and piling up this debt really means something, and they miss the most important question, and that is the wealth-producing capacity of our country, and we have about had it with their kind of thinking, trying to make money for the few, but not wealth for the many, and I know how hard the gentleman has worked in his capacity on the Committee on Public Works to try to improve the climate for business in America, our ports, seaports, airports, roadways, railroad beds, to try to make us the most efficient producer in the world, and I know the problems you have run into.

Imagine if your committee had had the chairman of the Federal Reserve and the head of the Treasury come in and say, "OK, Chairman LIPINSKI, how about \$40 billion in public works for America?"

I ask the gentleman, "Wouldn't that have been a great feeling?"

Mr. LIPINSKI. Fantastic.

Mr. SANDERS. If I could just interrupt.

If the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI] had made that request, they would have said, "What are you smoking? Are you out of your mind? Forty billion dollars; we can't afford that."

Right?

Mr. LIPINSKI. No question about it, no question about it.

Mr. SANDERS. But these guys come in a few weeks ago, and we are supposed to pass this thing with virtually no committee debate, I gather no committee debate whatsoever, bring it onto the floor of the House, because the big money people want to be protected. It is really quite incredible, and the other irony I would point out is the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI] quite correctly talked about the impact of NAFTA 1 year later—loss of jobs, lessening of the trade balance.

□ 1740

Fourteen months ago when we were debating that issue here, who would have believed it, after hearing all that the proponents told us, right? It is going to improve the standard of living of Mexican workers. It is going to create untold jobs in America; 14 months come and go, and what we are talking about now is the collapse of the Mexican economy, the decline in the volume of the peso by 40 percent, and a \$40 billion bailout. You know what gets me? Where are all the editorial writers? Every major newspaper in America told us what a great thing it would be. Remember that?

Mr. LIPINSKI. I remember it very, very well. No question about it.

Ms. KAPTUR. We should cut those articles out, all this was supposed to do for America, with the name of the author right there.

Mr. SANDERS. We were the crazy protectionists. At worse we were racist, anti-Mexico. Fourteen months have come and gone. Where are the editorial writers today telling us what a good deal NAFTA was? What they are telling us now, these same exact people, is well, excuse us, I guess we are going to have to pony up another \$40 billion to protect Mexico.

Ms. KAPTUR. You know Congressman SANDERS, one thing I think we would all be interested in, I call the NAFTA deal and deals like it death by pin pricks, because you have companies shutting down like Mattel-Fisher Price did yesterday in Medina, NY. But the workers from Medina, NY, do not always let us know they have lost their jobs and their production has been outsourced. I think it is very hard to get this information. We collect some of it, but there are just hundreds and hundreds of small companies, some of them employing under 50 people around our country, that have shut down.

I am hoping if those citizens of our country who are listening who have been really put out of a job this past year, in fact some of them have had to go down to Mexico and train their replacement worker, I hope you will call our offices. I hope you will let us know who you are. We will be your voice here. We need to be your voice here. You do not have voices from Wall Street placed in high positions. You do not have people in some of the major financial instruments of this government who are your voice.

We can be your voice, if you will let us know who you are. Some of you who are in union shops, you are organized, you know how to get to us. Many of you are in nonunion shops, 85 percent of you. We need to know who you are. We will be your voice here in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. LIPINSKI. I wanted to say that I have nothing against people in this economy becoming millionaires, becoming billionaires. But I believe that it is really the duty and the responsibility of the executive branch of

government and the legislative branch of government to try to create an economy that improves the standing of living of all the citizens of this country. That should be our No. 1 priority, to improve the standard of living of everyone here.

We should see to it that there are some kind of checks and balances so that one segment of our society does not benefit more than another segment of our society, particularly when it seems to me that the laws we often pass and the trade treaties we often pass here benefit a much smaller segment of our society at the expense of one of the largest sections of our society, the middle class. I really believe that that should be the top priority, creating jobs in this country, as I say, not only for the middle class, but for everyone. If you can become a millionaire, wonderful. If you can become a billionaire, that is wonderful also. But we have to give the opportunity to people to continually improve their standards of living, continually improve their jobs, so that they can raise their family, educate their family, so they can buy homes, so they can buy automobiles. This is really what the American dream is about. Not a few people becoming billionaires or millionaires.

Ms. KAPTUR. If the gentleman will yield on that point, on the Food Stamp Program, which is not a popular, politically popular program, I think it is important in my district to put on the record, half the people in my northwest Ohio area who are on food stamps, half are working people. They are working families who earn such low wages with such low benefits because their jobs have essentially been cashed out, they have to be in the embarrassing position, and I have seen some of them, of applying for these food stamps, because they can no longer earn a living wage in the United States of America. Frankly, I think that should be unconstitutional. I think these people should be able to earn a decent wage.

I met a woman the other day, I went into one of the stores to buy like these muffins in the morning. I met a woman working three part-time jobs. She was a divorcee, and she must be putting in 60 or 70 hours a week just to support herself. It is sobering to meet these families, and there are millions of them across our country. They have very little voice here.

We have been joined by our distinguished colleague from the State of New York, from Buffalo, NY, Chairman JOHN LAFALCE, Committee on Small Business, chairman of subcommittees on the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, and someone who was right month and months ago and they would not listen to you, Chairman LAFALCE. They would not listen to you. And I hope that the citizens of Buffalo understand what kind of voice they have here in Washington, not just for themselves but for the Nation and the world.

There are few Members of this body that understand as much about fi-

nance, and I think you talked yourself until you were blue in the face to try to get provisions in the NAFTA accord to deal with this very crisis, and they would not do it. They tried to ride their tractors right over you. You probably still got skid marks on your spine. Yet you were right. As I said a little bit earlier, this is one of those instances where it hurts to have been right.

We welcome you this evening. I yield you time.

Mr. LAFALCE. Thank you very much. First of all, I want to congratulate the gentlewoman from Ohio for the tremendous leadership she has shown, not simply on this issue, but on all issues affecting the industrial manufacturing service sector within the United States, especially as international trade impacts on those issues and our domestic workers.

I have long been concerned with the problems of Mexico and the problems of the Mexican people. I remember well August 1982, when the debt crisis first erupted, and I engaged in a great many meetings at that time with the point man for the Reagan administration, Tim McNamara, who was also a fellow graduate of Villanova University, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury. I believed firmly at that time that we had a responsibility to help the Mexican people in Mexico. I believed firmly that we should engage in leadership on the issue of debt relief. And we pretty much ran up against deaf ears.

I remember in 1982 going to a meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Toronto in order to discuss these and so many other issues. Again, I remember the speech that President Reagan gave at the time. We must rely on the magic of the marketplace. Beryl Sprinkel was quite active in the Treasury Department too. He presented a good many difficulties in dealing with a human, considerate, responsible way with the problem.

In 1986 I was able to get two provisions in the omnibus trade bill that we passed at that time. One dealt with exchange rates, and one dealt with debt relief. Unfortunately, President Reagan vetoed that bill, and in vetoing the bill, he cited four specific provisions. Three of them were provisions that I had authored and it would be the exchange rate provision and the debt relief provision.

Fortunately, I was able to get those provisions back in the omnibus trade bill of 1988, and they then became the law of the land.

So I have a long history of concern for the problems of Mexico in extending debt relief to them, and for the whole question of sustainable exchange rates as they impact trade and the rights of capital and the rights of labor between and amongst trading countries of the world.

I was very dissatisfied with the approach taken by Secretary of the Treasury Jim Baker when he came up with the Baker plan. It was a half-

hearted effort. It just did not go nearly far enough. And I remember when Nick Brady came in as Secretary of the Treasury, he called me into the office before the November 1988 election and said we are going to go way beyond Baker, but after the election, we will come up with something new.

□ 1750

We will come up with something new. This turned out to be the Brady plan, which basically was what I had called for in the 1988 legislation. I remember going down and talking with the leaders of the Central Bank in Mexico at the time, still there. I remember going down and talking with the chief debt negotiator, Angel Gurria, who is the foreign minister of Mexico. I remember being invited by the President-elect Salinas to attend his inauguration on December 1, 1988.

But then we came up with a lot of new ideas, too. Despite the fact that Mexico was a greatly underdeveloped country, we were going to treat it as a fully-developed country. And because we wanted to fulfill somebody's grand vision of a free-trade agreement for the Americas, we would enter into a free-trade agreement with Mexico, called NAFTA.

I had strongly favored the free-trade agreement with Canada, although even then I said we ought not to enter into that agreement without having provisions for exchange rates. Although I did not think that necessity of a provision for exchange rates was that imperative for Canada, because the swing in exchange rates, in currencies evaluations was not that great between the United States and Canada.

But with respect to Mexico, I said it was absolutely imperative. There were a number of other things that were absolutely imperative if we were to approve NAFTA and have a good agreement.

I used my Small Business Committee to have a good many hearings on some of those conditions that I thought had to be dealt with before we approved NAFTA. And so in 1992, I had hearings on the problems in Chiapas. I brought up so many of the human rights activists from Chiapas to discuss their problems. I said, these problems are festering and will soon erupt and NAFTA may make them erupt unless we do something about it beforehand.

Shortly after that, in early 1993, 2 years ago, I had a hearing on something that I thought was perhaps the most important issue that we had to deal with and could deal with within the NAFTA, and that was the issue of the valuation of the peso. I had a hearing entitled "Whither Goest the Peso."

We brought in some of the leading economists from around the world. And there was pretty much a general consensus at that time that the peso was overvalued by from 15 to 20 percent and that a devaluation was going to have to take place, not the trickle type of

devaluation that was taking place on a day-by-day basis, but something much more significant at some point in time. And the only question was when and how harmful such a devaluation would be.

I argued that it was imperative that we anticipate that problem, deal with it in advance. And so I sent many letters. I sent, first and foremost, a letter to President Clinton, but also to the Secretary of the Treasury, at least at that time, to the present Secretary of the Treasury, who was then Chairman of the National Economic Council, to the U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, to the head of the Business Roundtable's section on NAFTA, who at that time was the chairman of East-ern Kodak, Kay Whitmore.

I said, if NAFTA is going to pass, it ought to be a good NAFTA. It ought to be a NAFTA that protects American workers, and we cannot have a good NAFTA unless we have a provision dealing with exchange rates, something that will call for consultation, coordination, and corrective measures in the event of some type of devaluation.

Well, as the gentlewoman pointed out, my early warnings 2 years ago fell on absolute deaf ears. The problem is at that time the peso was about 3.2 to the dollar or 3,200 of the old pesos to the dollar. Of course, there had been a devaluation from 1982 to 1992 of 1,000, 2,000, 3,000 percent. We were not talking about modest devaluations. We were talking about volatile, extreme devaluation.

Let me just make this point. We have to be very careful before we go ahead and approve a \$40 billion loan guarantee. The administration and the Congress, Democrat and Republican, are dedicated to doing this by next Friday without congressional hearings, without satisfactorily, without exposing this to the crucible of examination, cross-examination, public opinion.

We have to be very careful. Otherwise we are going to freeze that exchange rate in the vicinity of 5.5 or so to the dollar. And if we thought we were going to have difficulties at 3.2 pesos to the dollar, we will be unable to export to Mexico at 5.5. There will be a huge, tremendous incentive to establish American plants and other plants from around the globe in Mexico at that valuation, and this administration and this Congress does not seem concerned about it.

The only thing they seem concerned about is ensuring that there be a loan guarantee for a restructuring of the existing loans; a restructuring that in my judgment would be done without the guarantees, because the lenders have no option but to extend the maturities.

If a lender gives \$100,000, the lender owes the borrower. If a lender gives \$40 billion, the borrower owns the lender.

We ought to be very, very careful before we proceed. To do it without hearings, to do it without examination and cross-examination debases the democratic process.

What they are saying is, this is so important and so big that we cannot have hearings, we cannot have it tested in the crucible of public opinion, which is the committee hearing process process of the House of Representatives and the Senate. That does not wash, not in my district in any event.

Ms. KAPTUR. The gentleman should be the very first person to be a part of such a hearing, because there is no one in this body that knows more about the internal debt structure of Mexico. It is an outrage, it is an outrage to this Congress and to the new leadership in this place that they would try to muscle the minds, not just of the people here, but also of the American people and not permit them to know what this is all about when they have to foot the bill.

It is absolutely outrageous. You have, to me, a special right to be a part of those hearings. I think you would make a positive contribution to putting Mexico on a sounding footing toward the future.

I personally do not believe this is the way to do it, because you cannot have free trade without free countries. I think Mexico needs a good dose of democracy as a basis for economic growth in the future. I know the time of our special order has expired, and we thank all of those who have been a part of this this evening, especially the gentleman from New York [Mr. LAFALCE], the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI], the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. SANDERS], those who joined us to inform the American people.

RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE 104TH CONGRESS

(Mr. GOODLING asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the requirement of clause (2)(a) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, I submit herewith the rules of the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities for the 104th Congress and ask that they be printed in the RECORD at this point. These rules were adopted by the committee in open session on January 5, 1995.

RULES OF THE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

RULE 1. REGULAR AND SPECIAL MEETINGS: VICE CHAIRMAN

(a) Regular meetings of the committee shall be held on the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at 9:30 a.m., while the Congress is in session. When the Chairman believes that the committee will not be considering any bill or resolution before the committee and that there is no other business to be transacted at a regular meeting, he will give each member of the committee, as far in advance of the day of the regular meeting as the circumstances make practicable, a written notice to that effect; and no committee meeting shall be held on that day.

(b) The Chairman may call and convene, as he considers necessary, additional meetings

of the committee for the consideration of any bill or resolution pending before the committee or for the conduct of other committee business. The committee shall meet for such purposes pursuant to that call of the Chairman.

(c) If at least three members of the committee desire that a special meeting of the committee be called by the Chairman, those members may file in the offices of the committee their written request to the Chairman for that special meeting. Immediately upon the filing of the request, the staff director of the committee shall notify the Chairman of the filing of the request. If, within three calendar days after the filing of the request, the Chairman does not call the requested special meeting to be held within seven calendar days after the filing of the request, a majority of the members of the committee may file in the offices of the committee their written notice that a special meeting of the committee will be held, specifying the date and hour thereof, and the measure or matter to be considered at that special meeting. The committee shall meet on that date and hour. Immediately upon the filing of the notice, the staff director of the committee shall notify all members of the committee that such meeting will be held and inform them of its date and hour and the measure or matter to be considered; and only the measure or matter specified in that notice may be considered at that special meeting.

(d) All legislative meetings of the committee and its subcommittees shall be open to the public, including radio, television, and still photography coverage. No business meeting of the committee, other than regularly scheduled meetings, may be held without each member being given reasonable notice. Such meeting shall be called to order and presided over by the Chairman, or in the absence of the Chairman, by his designee.

(e)(1) The Chairman of the committee and of each of the subcommittees shall designate a vice chairman of the committee or subcommittee, as the case may be.

(2) The chairman of the committee or of a subcommittee, as appropriate, shall preside at meetings or hearings, or, in the absence of the chairman, the vice chairman shall preside.

RULE 1. QUESTIONING OF WITNESSES

Committee members may question witnesses only when they have been recognized by the Chairman for the purpose, and only for a 5-minute period until all members present have had an opportunity to question a witness. The 5-minute period for questioning a witness by any one member can be extended only with the unanimous consent of all members present. The questioning of witnesses in both committee and subcommittee hearings shall be initiated by the Chairman, followed by the ranking minority party member and all other members alternating between the majority and minority party in order of the member's appearance at the hearing. In recognizing members to question witnesses in this fashion, the Chairman shall take into consideration the ratio of the majority to minority party members present and shall establish the order of recognition for questioning in such a manner as not to place the members of the majority party in a disadvantageous position.

RULE 3. RECORDS AND ROLLCALLS

(a) Written records shall be kept of the proceedings of the committee and of each subcommittee, including a record of the votes on any question on which a rollcall is demanded. The result of each such rollcall vote shall be made available by the committee or subcommittee for inspection by the public at reasonable times in the offices of